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Egyptian Press Treatment of Israel

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Egyptian Press Treatment of Israel

Introduction

Among the recurring issues in dispute between Egypt and Israel since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1979 has been Tel Aviv's frequent complaint that the relationship is being undermined by a hostile Egyptian press. Israel has charged that the press frequently is overly critical of Israeli policies, that articles and commentary often contain anti-Semitic statements or allusions, and that such treatment is in violation of the 1979 peace treaty's provision barring hostile propaganda between the two nations.

Much of the disagreement over this issue can be ascribed to differing definitions of hostile propaganda and to disputes over whether the Egyptian Government can control it. Israel maintains, for example, that criticism of its policies toward other Arab countries such as Lebanon or Iraq is harmful to a delicate Egyptian-Israeli relationship. It maintains further that the Egyptian press is tightly controlled, that harsh criticism or abusive rhetoric must have at least the tacit support of the government, and that restraints should be imposed. In contrast, the leadership in Cairo has argued that the treaty does not deprive Egyptians of the right to express disapproval of Israeli actions and that such criticism by journalists constitutes the spontaneous response of an unfettered press.

This report presents the results of a systematic survey of Egyptian press treatment of Israel from September through December 1983, supplemented by a less rigorous review of papers and journals available through May 1984.¹ It examines the overall tone of the press, the extent of negative reporting and commentary on Israel in representative mainstream and opposition publications, and the question of press controls. Conclusions are based on a wide variety of press materials, including approximately 500 individual newspaper and magazine editions.

¹ This survey builds on an earlier FBIS study that examined Egyptian media treatment of Israel only during celebrations marking the 10th anniversary of the October War. That study, based on a limited sample of leadership statements and commentary, found no increase in the level of hostile rhetoric directed against Israel as compared with the same period in 1982.

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Summary

Most commentaries and news reports concerned with Israel in both mainstream and opposition Egyptian publications were critical in substance or negative in tone. Criticism, at times harsh, was largely directed at specific Israeli policies or actions in the Middle East related to issues such as the invasion of Lebanon, West Bank settlement policy, or resolution of the Taba territorial dispute.

A smaller but significant body of commentary and reportage used abusive language and thinly veiled anti-Semitic images in criticizing Israel. Blatantly anti-Semitic material—derogatory characterizations of Jews and anti-Jewish diatribes—appeared occasionally in both mainstream and opposition publications. In the mainstream press this was almost entirely the work of one man, Muhammad al-Hayawan of the daily *Al-Jumhuriyah*. In the opposition press the only instances of blatant anti-Semitic writing appeared in *Al-Ahram Al-Iqtisadi*—an ostensibly mainstream weekly that in fact follows a leftwing line—and in *An-Nur*, the religious weekly of the rightist Liberal Party. Routine reading of FBIS press receipts in 1984 suggests that criticism of Israel remains strident, although blatantly anti-Semitic material has not been observed during the past few weeks.

Political cartoons and news feature reports also tended to convey a negative image of Israel. This image was accentuated by an absence of the kind of hopeful reporting that appeared in connection with the signing of the 1979 peace treaty.

Egypt's President Husni Mubarak is publicly committed to the principle of a free press, and the press is freer under Mubarak than under either of his two predecessors. However, press freedom is limited by general, albeit sometimes vague, guidelines, and the government retains the means of suppression if self-censorship should fail. Continuing, regular criticism of Israel suggests that, except for the most extreme instances, the government has not found Israeli complaints compelling enough to incur the political costs of direct censorship.

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Egyptian Press Treatment of Israel

The Mainstream Press

The amount of attention devoted to Israel by the mainstream press—publications that either are owned by the government or that tend to adopt progovernment positions—varied during the course of the survey, but the overall tenor consistently reflected a negative image of Israel and the Israel-Egypt relationship. The volume of media coverage fluctuated with events: Surges of news reporting and commentary accompanied developments of predictable interest to Egyptian readers, such as Israeli actions in Lebanon or the announcement of plans for strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel.

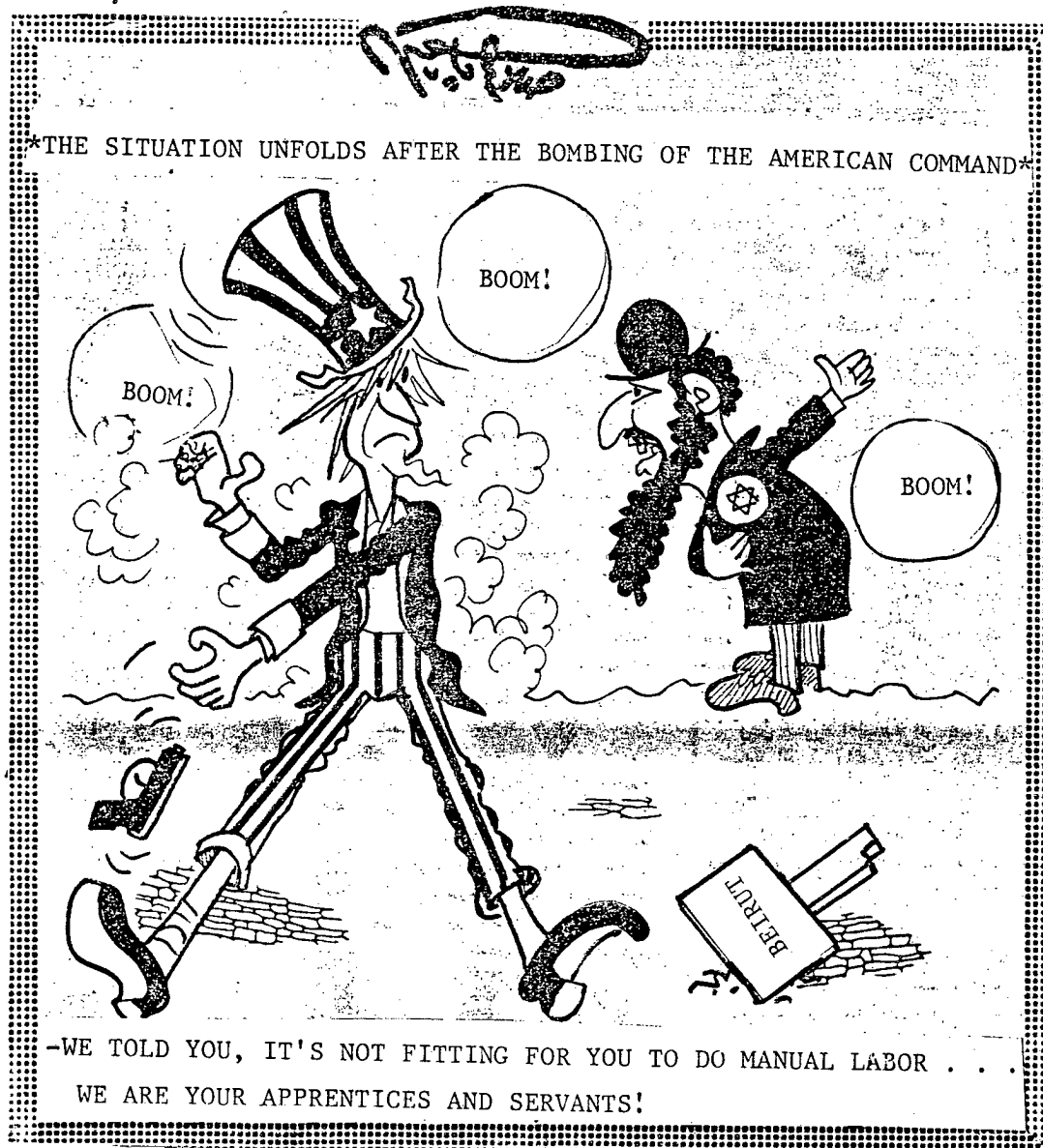
News reports, primarily attributed to press agencies, generally covered stories involving Israel in a straightforward manner. However, a high percentage of these reports focused on actions that were officially opposed by Egypt—Israeli activities in the West Bank, for example.

Most commentaries in all of the mainstream publications were critical of Israel, at times harshly so. Most of the criticism was pegged to specific Israeli policies or actions, but a significant body of negative material was unrelated to major events and appeared to be gratuitous. At the same time, a frequent Israeli allegation that the press in Egypt regularly refers to Israel as “the enemy” was not borne out by the survey. With only a few exceptions the term was used to describe Israel in the historical context of the 1973 war.

Blatantly anti-Semitic material appeared in only one mainstream newspaper, *Al-Jumhuriyah*, which occasionally published abusive attacks on Israel, Israelis, and the Jewish people. However, short news feature items and political cartoons in a number of papers tended to picture Israel in a negative light, with ugly stereotypes of Jews at times portrayed in cartoons. The negative tone of the mainstream press was accentuated by an absence of the kind of positive reporting that appeared immediately after the signing of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty in 1979.

Al-Ahram

The oldest and most widely respected of Egypt's daily newspapers, *Al-Ahram*, devoted considerable space to coverage of regional issues involving Israel



Al-Ahram, 26 October 1983

during the period surveyed. Israeli moves in Lebanon, on the West Bank, and in the arena of international diplomacy generated considerable negative comment by *Al-Ahram* journalists of various political leanings. While commentaries were occasionally harsh in their characterizations and condemnation of Israel, little anti-Semitic material was observed. Several cartoons made use of disparaging stereotypes to depict Jews and Israelis, but these appeared in only a small proportion of the editions during this period.

Typical substantive criticism of Israel was presented by Chief Editor Ibrahim Nafi', known for his close ties to the Mubarak regime. In his weekly column on 23 September, he reviewed the Israeli actions which he said had led to a cooling of Egyptian-Israeli relations, including Israeli activities in the West Bank and Gaza "in terms of building settlements, changing the nature of the population, and taking irregular measures against the people" in the territories. Nafi' noted that Egypt had hoped its treaty with Israel would have been the "first step toward a comprehensive solution and establishment of peace in the region."

Less measured language appeared in columns by the daily commentator Ahmad Bahjat, a popular writer with strong Islamic leanings. In a 30 September commentary on Israeli actions and policies in the Middle East, Bahjat charged that "Israeli policy is based on naked power, seizure of land, and changing of facts" on the ground. Attempts to "exterminate" the Palestinian people would not succeed, he predicted, and "repression and coercion" would never bring security to Israel. In his 15 November column Bahjat condemned the Israelis for "dealing with the Palestinians just like the Nazi regime dealt with the Jews in Europe." Bahjat devoted his 18 December column to a derisive attack on former Israeli Prime Minister Begin. According to Bahjat, Begin's career consisted of a woeful "chain of sacrifices" for Israel:

The man made sacrifices for the sake of Israel, massacring all the Palestinians who stood in his way, starting with Dayr Yasin and ending with the Sabra and Shatila massacres in Lebanon—a heavy, bloody history that oceans will not suffice to wash away.

The bombing of the U.S. Marine headquarters in Beirut prompted hostile speculation about Israel typical of suspicions aired repeatedly during the survey period. Acknowledging in a 25 October commentary that various forces could have been responsible for the bombing, Managing Editor Salah Muntasir asked: "Is it not possible that Israel, more than anybody else, is directly or indirectly behind the operation?" This type of intense suspicion



Al-Ahram, 2 November 1983

regarding Israeli motives in the region appeared again that month in an article on the war in Lebanon by well-known author Mustafa Mahmud. In this article, published on the 31st, Mahmud used some of the most vitriolic language that appeared in *Al-Ahram* during the four months surveyed. Contemplating the origins of the war, Mahmud asked:

Who benefits from involving Christians and Muslims in slaughter, so as to get rid of Christianity and Islam with one blow? None other than atheistic communism or Zionist Israel Zionists have in their hands the keys to the treasury of dollars, pounds sterling, francs, and marks. . . . They are the best able to manufacture crises, provoke wars, spread dissension and mislead the youth The commandments of the Talmud . . . order them to do this

The U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation accords, announced in late November, gave rise to a storm of criticism in the Egyptian press. While much of the hostile comment was directed against the United States, Israel came in for its share. Anis Mansur, chief editor of the weekly *October* who writes a daily column in *Al-Ahram*, was unusually severe in his comments on the agreement in the 7 December edition of the paper, given his past record of support for the late President Anwar as-Sadat and the peace process with Israel. Speculating on the possibility that the goal of the accords was to "kindle fire in the Arab world so that Israel can finally occupy South Lebanon and put the West Bank under lock and key," Mansur called Israel "an American state" and predicted that it would "put an end to all American influence in the region."

Mansur returned to his typically more balanced approach to Israel in his column of the 29th. Calling the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty "one of Egypt's biggest policy successes," he went on to affirm Egypt's Arab identity, remarking that the distance between Cairo and other Arab capitals was shorter than the distance between Cairo and Tel Aviv and that this state of affairs was a fact of life.

Al-Akhbar and Akhbar Al-Yawm

Compared with *Al-Ahram*, the daily *Al-Akhbar* and its weekend edition *Akhbar Al-Yawm* devoted less space to comment on Israel. The comment that appeared was primarily negative.

Al-Akhbar reacted to news of Yitzhaq Shamir's appointment as prime minister of Israel in a 4 September editorial characterizing the new leader as "the hero of massacres." People still remember what he "arranged" in Sabra and Shatila, the paper warned. Prime Minister Shamir's background in the struggle for Israel's independence was recalled disparagingly in a 19 November article by Sawi 'Afifi in *Akhbar Al-Yawm*. A caption next to a picture of Shamir labeled him "an old terrorist who does not want to change after 50 years of terrorist operations."

Akhbar Al-Yawm's chief editor, Ibrahim Sa'dah, reacted forcefully to Israel's complaints about the withdrawal of Egypt's ambassador from Tel Aviv. In a commentary on 1 October Sa'dah told readers that Egypt's action came in response to "the ugly massacres perpetrated by the Israelis against the Lebanese and Palestinian people" and termed the recall of the ambassador "the simplest response to the ugly Israeli invasion of Lebanon." On 14 October *Al-Akhbar's* managing editor, Ahmad Zayn (who is editor in chief of the religious weekly *Al-Liwa' Al-Islami*), said it was undoubtedly the "massacres and other infamies" perpetrated by the Israelis in Lebanon that had caused a shift in world opinion away from Israel.

In response to the announcement of U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation, *Al-Akhbar* Chief Editor Musa Sabri authored a blistering attack which appeared in the paper on 6 December. Characterizing the accords as "clearly a complete U.S.-Israeli military alliance," Sabri predicted that the alliance would be a "catastrophe" for the Arab world that would allow Israel to "wreak havoc" at any time it chose. In *Akhbar Al-Yawm* on the 10th, commentator Husayn Fahmi referred to a strategic cooperation pact agreed on between "America and the Zionist enemy."

Israel was also the focus of some negative news and feature reports in *Al-Akhbar* during the months surveyed. An article on 20 September, for example, reported that "6.5 percent of the Israeli population takes drugs." Two days later, in his review of the Costa-Gavras film "Hanna K.," Hasan Shah noted that this was the first film shown at a European festival that depicted "the fascism and Zionist terrorism that rules Israel."

Al-Jumhuriyah

The most sensationalist of Cairo's dailies, *Al-Jumhuriyah*, was the source of the only blatantly anti-Semitic commentary published in the mainstream press

during the period surveyed. While daily columnist Muhammad al-Hayawan, who has a long record of anti-Semitic writings, was by far the worst offender, he was not the only journalist in the newspaper to malign Israel.

In al-Hayawan's commentaries, attacks on Israel's policies and actions were almost incidental to his incessant vilification of Israel, the Israeli people, and Jews in general. On 11 November al-Hayawan charged that in "exterminating the Palestinian people" former Israeli Prime Minister Begin surpassed Hitler's acts against the Jews. According to al-Hayawan, Israel "benefited" from what Hitler "is alleged to have done," in that the world is still sympathetic to Israel because of the Nazi past. In a subsequent commentary on the 20th al-Hayawan dealt with Egyptian Jews living in the United States. Warning other Arabs about those in New York "who speak Arabic through their noses," al-Hayawan declared: "They are Jews. They harbor feelings of hatred for Arabs. They want to suck up all the Arabs' information and money." According to al-Hayawan, New York's Jews—in particular Egyptian Jews—were the "most evil" thing about the city.

Turning in his 12 December column to Israeli complaints about hostile treatment by the Egyptian press, al-Hayawan accused Israel of trying to "interfere" with the Egyptian press. Israel had no special rights in Egypt, al-Hayawan stated. In his view, Egypt's relationship with Israel was no different from its relationships with Costa Rica or Thailand, "with apologies to Costa Rica and Thailand."

Commenting on the death of an Egyptian citizen in jail in Israel, al-Hayawan on 30 December accused Israel of torturing Egyptians until they "prefer to commit suicide." He warned Egyptians against going to Israel, which "still deals with people as if it were a gang," and predicted that any Egyptian who chose to visit Israel would be "killed, arrested, or tortured."

The Nazi era was evoked by commentator 'Abd al-Mun'im as-Sawi in the 13 December issue of the paper. As-Sawi asked the Israeli leadership: "Did not the Nazis torture you or your forebears? . . . And you, what are you doing? Less than what the Nazis did? Sabra and Shatila and the bloody carnage that defies description"

May

Criticism of Israel in the National Democratic Party (NDP) organ *May* was less pervasive and more muted than in other mainstream publications.

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Commentators expressed dissatisfaction with Israeli policies and actions in the region, but the criticism generally was not inflammatory. At the same time, numerous brief news reports and features cast Israel in an unfavorable light.

May's managing editor, Salamah Ahmad Salamah, offered a bleak assessment of Egyptian-Israeli relations in a commentary published on 19 September. Peace between Egypt and Israel was not "a true peace," he lamented, but rather "a functional peace, subject to clearly defined conditions." Israel, he charged, was misusing its treaty with Egypt in the worst possible manner.

A 3 October commentary by Chief Editor Sabri Abu al-Majd censured Israel's American supporters for trying to "bring pressure to bear on Egypt in the interest of Israel" during President Mubarak's visit to the United States. Egypt would interpret this as "interference" in its internal affairs, he declared, and would reject it.

While commentators in *May* avoided the harsh rhetoric that was used in other mainstream newspapers, short news reports and features in the paper tended to denigrate Israel. On 26 September, for example, a brief item featured statements by Richard Arens, brother of Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens, on the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres. According to *May*, Richard Arens said it seemed that Israel had "forgotten the Jewish victims of Hitler's Nazism and that it has committed atrocities that evoke the crimes of Nazism."

A similar analogy between Israeli and Nazi practices was drawn in a 14 November article which reported that an Israeli soldier in Lebanon had said during an Israeli television interview that he felt as though he were "making a movie on the Nazis in World War II or as though he were a Soviet soldier in Afghanistan."

Some of *May's* short news features on Israel were sarcastic in tone. For example, *May* reported on 28 November on Israel's "magical solution" to the problem of Palestinian refugees, which involved relocating them from camps into housing cooperatives. According to the article, an Israeli minister explaining the project's motivation said that "the Israelis have good hearts and the refugee's standard of living distresses them and disturbs their sleep!" Other articles ridiculed Israeli leaders. A 10 October story, for example, was contrived to show that Ari'el Sharon needed to make controversial statements to get attention: "Ari'el Sharon—uncrowned former king of Israel and also former defense minister—is now far from the limelight of any meaningful

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position and so consoles himself from time to time by making statements which provoke people for a while, so that they turn their heads and point at him, saying: That's Sharon!"

Al-Liwa' Al-Islami

The NDP religious weekly *Al-Liwa' Al-Islami* gave very limited attention to Israel during the months surveyed. While this is not surprising given the paper's focus on Islamic affairs, it is somewhat unusual for a Muslim publication to avoid all reference to the Islamic world's major grievance against Israel—its annexation of Jerusalem, the third holy city in Islam.

The only article with a direct bearing on Israel was a 3 November interview with Shaykh 'Abdallah al-'Ablini, "the Mufti of Muslims in Palestine." The religious leader complained forcefully about "non-Muslims"—presumably Israelis—who had been allowed to administer Islamic religious affairs and said that the inequality between treatment of Muslims and other denominations in "occupied Palestine" contradicted "principles of human rights." He was very specific in his denunciation of various alleged moves by the Israeli authorities, such as attempts to sell mosques and Islamic cemeteries, but he used balanced and noninflammatory language throughout the interview.

October

Coverage of foreign affairs in the weekly magazine *October* has declined since the assassination of President as-Sadat, and Israel received scant attention during the period of the survey. An example was a 4 December commentary by Chief Editor Anis Mansur, who under as-Sadat served as virtual regime spokesman. Bemoaning the continuing cycle of violence in the Middle East, Mansur complained that the world did absolutely nothing when Israel "drowned thousands of Palestinians in seas of blood at Sabra and Shatila." The world forgets everything, he declared; "it forgot what Hitler did to the Jews of Germany and what the Jews of Israel did to the Palestinian people and South Lebanon."

Rose Al-Yusuf

Commentary in the left-leaning weekly *Rose Al-Yusuf* was critical of Israeli policies and actions. While harsh language occasionally appeared, there was

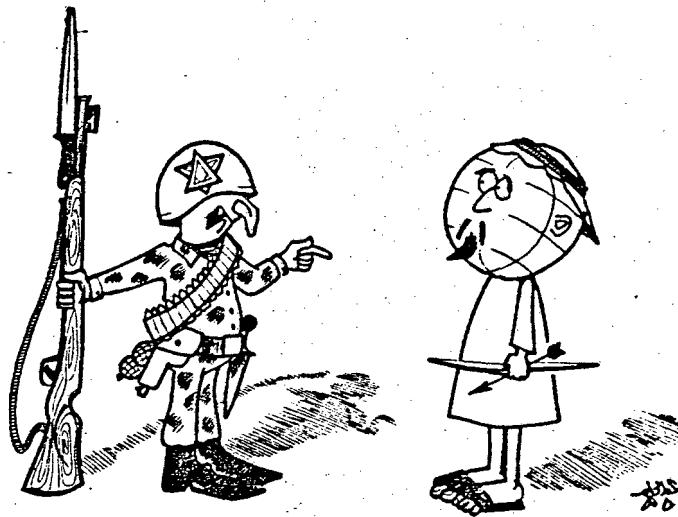
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no blatantly anti-Semitic material. Like *May*, *Rose Al-Yusuf* occasionally published short news items and features that fostered a negative image of Israel and Israelis.

On 5 September, commenting on the resignation of Israeli Prime Minister Begin, the leftist journalist Phillip Jallab stated: "Menahem Begin began his political life with the Dayr Yasin massacre in Palestine. . . . He ended it as prime minister with the Sabra and Shatila massacres."

A brief item entitled "Israelis—on 'Abd an-Nasir's Tomb!," appearing in the 10 October issue of the magazine, fostered the image of the "ugly Israeli." According to this report, a number of Israelis had visited Nasir's tomb and asked the soldier guarding it to take a souvenir photograph of them standing in front of it.

Another brief report, published on 17 October, commented on the resignation of U.S. Interior Secretary James Watt, saying it was "well known that the Zionist lobby in the United States was behind his resignation."



مش ممكن يكون عندك نية السلام وانت مسلح كده!

"ARMED LIKE THAT, YOUR INTENTIONS CAN'T BE PEACEFUL!"

Rose Al-Yusuf, 21 November 1983

The Opposition Press

The opposition press generally did not give prominent attention to Israel. When Israel was discussed, however, it was usually in critical commentaries and short defamatory news features. News items tended to focus on topics that might be embarrassing to the Israeli Government or project a negative image of Israel. Commentaries on Israel criticized Israeli policies harshly and expressed skepticism about the viability of the peace treaty because of alleged Israeli violations. With the exception of *Al-Ahrar*, which printed very few articles on Israel, all of the opposition periodicals surveyed published commentaries condemning Zionism; some of them claimed the existence of a worldwide Zionist conspiracy against Islam and the Arabs. A few commentaries, notably in *Al-Ahram Al-Iqtisadi*, expressed blatantly anti-Semitic attitudes and contained negative stereotypes of Jews.

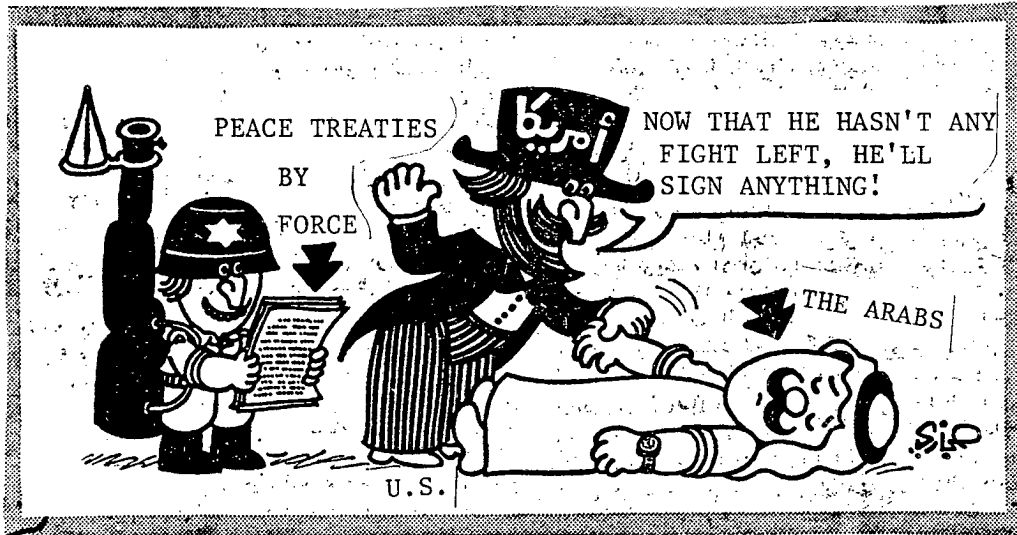
Al-Ahali

The National Progressive Unionist Grouping (NPUG) weekly *Al-Ahali* published relatively few articles harshly critical of Israel. The paper is known for its opposition to the Camp David accords, but rather than directly criticizing the treaty it more commonly expressed general skepticism about the durability of peace with Israel and warned that Israel could still pose a military threat to Egypt if it chose.

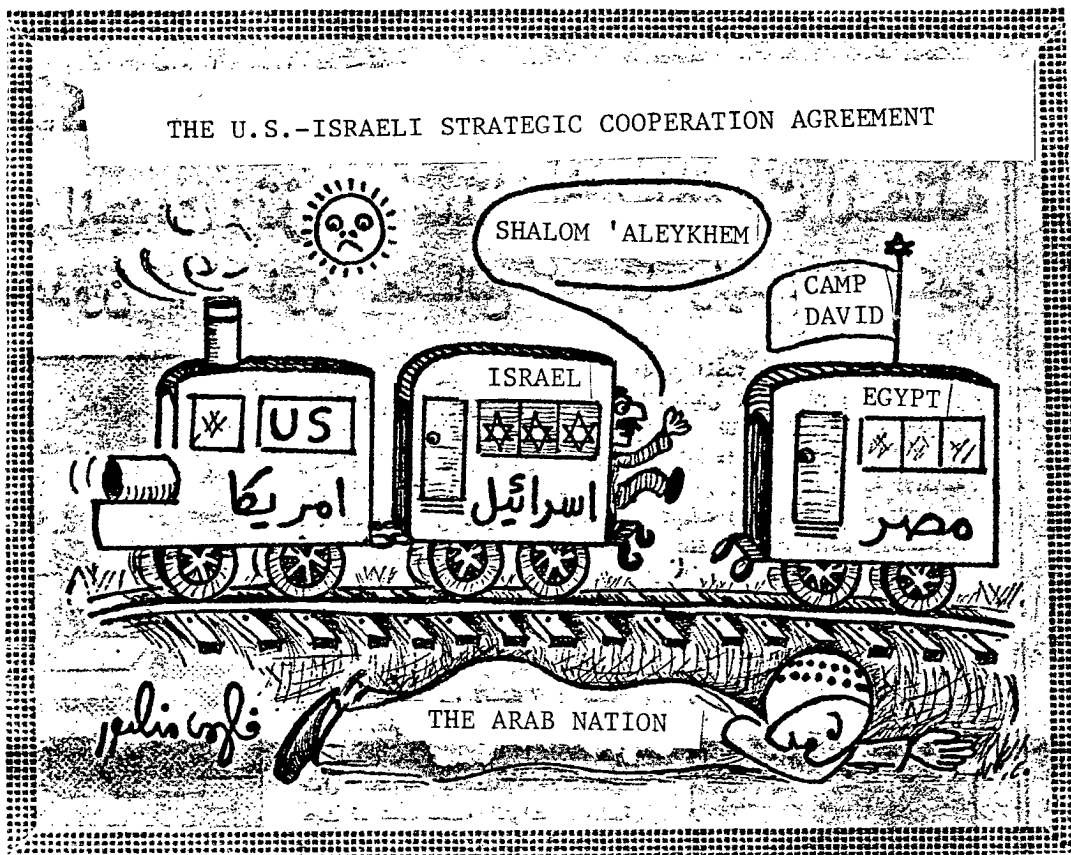
Typical of the criticism in *Al-Ahali* was a commentary published on 14 December by Muhammad Sayyid Ahmad, who maintained that Egyptian frustration with Israel—exemplified in this case by the recall of the Egyptian ambassador in Tel Aviv—should in no way be perceived as evidence of anti-Jewish sentiment:

Even if the political forces in Egypt agree to boycott the Israelis and to repudiate the Camp David accords and the Egypt-Israel treaty, it will not be because of an attitude toward the Jews or because of a kind of racism. It will rather be due to the aggressive expansionist positions of Israel, its own violations of the principles of peace, and its own persistence in racist attitudes and in plans for settlement and annexation.

Other commentaries focused their criticism on Zionism, some harshly. In a 23 November column, Faridah an-Naqqash protested the rise of neo-Nazi



Al-Ahali, 21 December 1983



Ash-Sha'b, 27 December 1983

movements but also used the occasion to liken the crimes of Nazism to those of Zionism, saying that Hitler "committed crimes against human rights and the German people which can be compared only to the crimes of Zionism in our time."

Commentator Salah 'Abd al-Majid wrote several articles sharply critical of Israel and accusing Egyptians of naivete for believing that real peace was possible. In a 5 October commentary, in which he mocked the presence of U.S. and Israeli representatives at a peace conference in Cairo, 'Abd al-Majid asked: "Gentlemen of Egypt, both governors and governed, do you still believe in this American-Zionist peace? You applaud it and seek it out; in fact you are persistent in demanding it, sing its praises night and day, and cross desert and wasteland for its sake. Do you still desire and believe in this peace?" A later commentary by 'Abd al-Majid on 21 December adopted a more openly anti-Jewish tone, claiming that Jewish history and law were directed toward expansionism and the use of violence against non-Jews:

Their religious books are full of stories of the Jews' mistreatment of non-Jewish communities, killing men and children and burning homes and cities. Have they refrained from this in the modern era? ... It would be impossible to enumerate all that they have done to the Arabs from the establishment of their state until today, as the list is so lengthy and would take a long time to recite.

Ash-Sha'b

There were few references to Israel in *Ash-Sha'b*, the weekly paper of the Socialist Labor Party. Those that were observed were strongly negative, charging Israel with violation of the Camp David accords, responsibility for the Sabra and Shatila massacres, and other misdeeds such as attempting to steal ancient documents from Egypt.

A particularly vitriolic column on 13 September marking the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres placed the blame for the incidents on Israel: "The Israeli commission of inquiry could not conceal Israel's crime from the world, and liars in the Israeli leadership—politicians and military personnel—could not stick to their stories in the face of the facts and secrets of the massacres which were soon confessed by its planners, one after the other."

An unusual article on 8 November expressed anger at alleged Israeli efforts to procure records from ancient Egyptian synagogues and accused the American University in Cairo of aiding the Israelis and helping to perpetuate a "ring" of pro-Israeli Egyptians.

On 27 December the paper published a Socialist Labor Party foreign policy statement that proposed freezing the Camp David accords and severing diplomatic relations if Israel refused to withdraw immediately from Lebanon. The statement charged Israel with repeated abuses of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty, citing such actions as the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, annexation of the Golan Heights, declaration of Jerusalem as Israel's indivisible capital, invasion of Lebanon and subsequent "direction" of the Sabra and Shatila massacres, and continued settlement of the West Bank—"all of which call for freezing the treaty until the requirements of both parties have been accepted."

Al-Ahram Al-Iqtisadi

Al-Ahram Al-Iqtisadi is an anomaly: Established as a government-owned conservative economic weekly during the 1970's, the paper has evolved into a vehicle for leftist opposition views. During the period under review it contained a mixture of reporting on developments in the Israeli economy with a number of the harshest anti-Israel and anti-Semitic commentaries found in any opposition periodical.

In a section entitled "The Occupied Land," commentator Nazirah al-Afandi regularly criticized Israel's economic policies and sometimes used the column as a vehicle for anti-Jewish rhetoric and negative stereotypes of Jews. Some of her commentaries concentrated on attacking Israeli policies, such as one on 28 November ascribing Israel's economic troubles to its "expansionist policy, which is based on military occupation . . . and construction of settlements—practices that go back decades."

Other articles by al-Afandi had a more blatantly anti-Semitic tone, projecting a stereotype of Jews as materialistic and grasping to explain Israeli actions. Such was the case in a column on 24 October, in which al-Afandi claimed that Israel was forced to "sell itself" to the United States in order to finance its ambitions: "'The Jew' has gone too far in practicing his role in 'The Merchant of Venice.' The plan behind his dreams is regional expansionism and his materialistic ambitions to get more money." Another example appeared in a

brief news item in the 7 November "Occupied Land" section which described Israel's efforts to secure payment from Egypt for water consumed in Rafah, in the Gaza Strip, during the summer of 1982. The report was entitled, "Jews!!"

Occasional anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic commentaries appeared elsewhere in *Al-Ahram Al-Iqtisadi*. For example, a 12 September article by Dr. Fadil al-Aswad claimed to expose the dangerous influence of "Zionist films"—so labeled because of story lines involving Jewish characters or the presence of Jewish actors—imported for Egyptian television. According to the author, "what is surprising is not only that all of the heroes of these films are Jews and supporters of Israel and all of its repeated outrages against the Arab nation, but that they have also taken prominent roles in propagandistic films which deride the Arab peoples and their history." As examples of Zionist cinematic propaganda he cited such films as "Funny Girl," "Raiders of the Lost Ark," and "Private Benjamin."

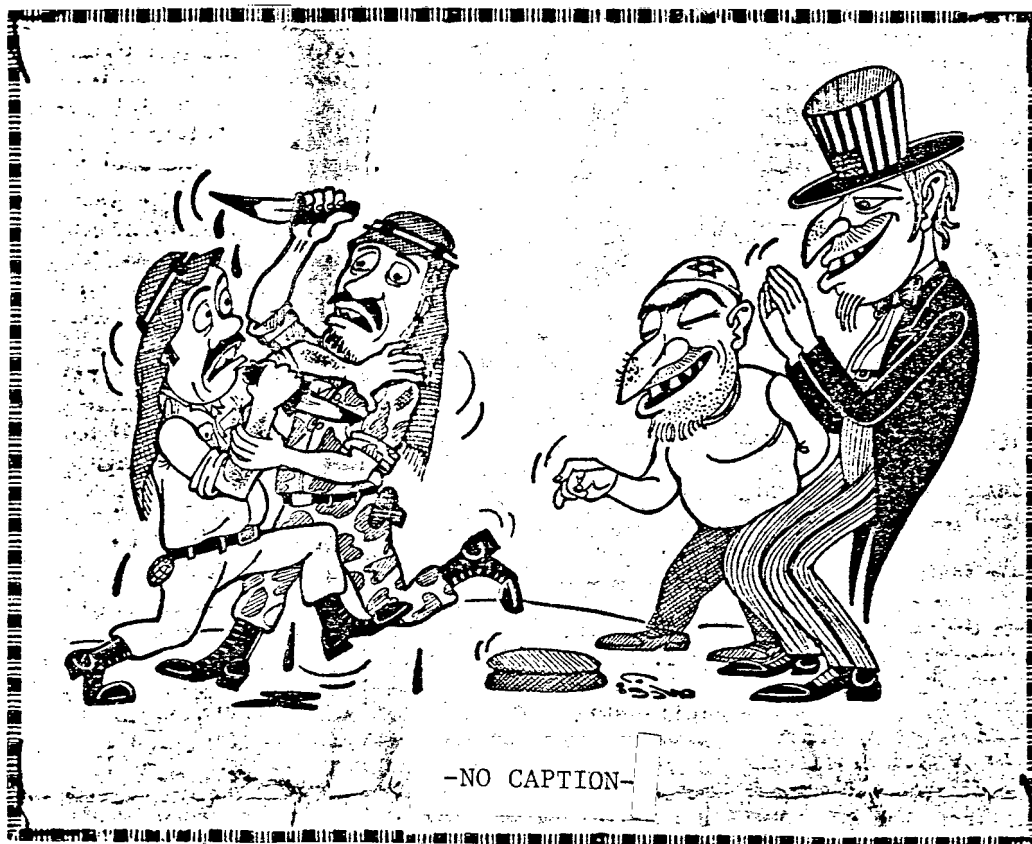
Al-Ahrar

The Liberal Party weekly *Al-Ahrar* published very few articles on Israel during the period of the survey. The few references observed were in news reports that fostered a negative image of Israel. On 12 September, for example, the paper reported that "the former head of Israeli counterintelligence accused the Begin government and those that preceded it of encouraging the rise of terrorist organizations operating against the Palestinians." The paper also reported Ari'el Sharon's denial of this allegation.

An-Nur

The paucity of attention to Israel in *Al-Ahrar* contrasted sharply with the content of the Liberal Party's Islamic weekly, *An-Nur*. Several of the articles dealing with Israel in the weekly contained complaints by Muslim leaders about the high cost and impropriety of peace with the "Zionist state" and allegations about a "Zionist conspiracy" against the Islamic world. *An-Nur's* treatment of Israel was also in sharp contrast with that of the mainstream Islamic publication *Al-Liwa' Al-Islami*, which rarely mentioned Israel.

Much of the direct criticism of peace with Israel was concentrated in a series of essays by Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood and vocal proponent of the return to *Shari'ah* (Islamic law). Abu Isma'il



Al-Ahrar, 12 December 1983

addressed his essays to the rector of the renowned university of al-Azhar. His 19 October essay enumerated the costs to Egypt of the Camp David accords, among which he cited "the normalization of relations with the people most antagonistic to Believers, the Jews." He went on to decry the peace "to which as-Sadat submitted in humiliation and from which Begin abstained in arrogance and conceit."

Other articles in *An-Nur* contained warnings of Zionist or Jewish conspiracies against Islam. For example, on 21 September an unattributed article cited a statement by the secretary general of the Muslim World League in response to measures taken by Israel against Palestinian students in Galilee:

After this, there can remain no doubt among the observant of this world about the evil intentions of the Zionists, who since they confiscated our Arab Muslim lands have worked to drive out the

Palestinians in order to empty Palestine and its environs. They are doing this so that the land will belong exclusively to the Jews, in order to realize the dream for which they have long labored: control over Muslim lands and thus rule over the fate of the Islamic world.

Another article, by Mu'min al-Haba' on 16 November, alleged the existence of a plot by "American and Zionist extremists" to destroy Islamic holy places in Jerusalem.

The notion of a Zionist conspiracy was sometimes raised in articles that had no ostensible bearing on Israel. For example, in an interview about the role of women, published on 23 November, Islamic fundamentalist Zaynab al-Ghazzali charged that contraception was "a Zionist plot against the Islamic world, financed by the worldwide Zionist fund." Although the accusation was clearly tangential to the main subject of the interview, it was placed in bold print across the middle of the page.

Press Controls in Egypt

Israel's complaints about its treatment by the Egyptian press have touched on an ongoing disagreement between the two states over the nature and extent of press controls in Egypt. The Israeli leadership has expressed the conviction that the Egyptian press is tightly controlled, and consequently that hostile comment appearing in print must have at least the tacit approval of the Mubarak regime.

Prime Minister Shamir articulated this position in a speech before the Knesset on 7 March this year. Commenting on what he characterized as "anti-Israel and anti-Semitic propaganda" in the Egyptian press, Shamir said: "We know that this is a controlled press despite their persistent insistence that it is a free press; I am sorry to say this—we know the reality."

The Egyptian leadership, on the other hand, has taken pains to depict the press as free of controls. In an interview with the London-based Arabic weekly, *Al-Tadamun*, carried by Cairo's Middle East News Agency (MENA) on 3 November 1983, President Mubarak declared that "the Egyptian press writes whatever it wishes without censorship, and we fear nothing." Egyptian commentators have dismissed Israeli complaints about hostile treatment by their press as attempts to meddle in Egyptian affairs.

The reality of press control in Egypt is more complex than the picture of total control alleged by the Israelis or the complete freedom claimed by the Egyptians. Under the Mubarak regime the press has been afforded a greater measure of freedom than was allowed by either of his two predecessors. Censorship was institutionalized under 'Abd an-Nasir; while as-Sadat frequently said he was committed to the principle of press freedom, his speeches contained references to his intervention with journalists and their publications. In a speech on 14 May 1980, for example, he remarked that mainstream newspapers had carried no reports about an unspecified incident in Egypt, and "the reason is that I told them: Do not write anything."

Mubarak seems to have rejected as-Sadat's confrontational style of dealing with the press. Most of the opposition papers that were shut down in as-Sadat's September 1981 crackdown on the Egyptian opposition have been allowed to reopen; only the religious opposition publications, the Muslim Brotherhood organ *Ad-Da'wah* and the Coptic paper *Al-Watani*, remain closed.

The increased freedom of the press under Mubarak is indicated in his own comments and in press criticism of his regime's policies. In a 19 July 1983 speech to an NDP youth conference, broadcast by Cairo radio, Mubarak complained about the opposition harping on Egypt's problems without offering solutions. He said he would not interfere in the free expression of opinion, however, vowing: "I have not seized any newspaper, and I will not do so." Mubarak went further in spelling out his interpretation of press freedom in a 6 November 1983 speech to a joint session of the Consultative Council and the People's Assembly. Commenting on the fears of those in Egypt who "believe that freedom . . . has reached the point of chaos," Mubarak declared:

The power of a regime is manifest when the ruler hears criticism and tolerates it as long as it is constructive and does not deviate from legitimacy or is excessive. . . . We will have great patience as long as criticism is constructive and does not reach the point of being without discipline. . . . I believe that what is being written in papers was not written before. I am not taking action. Although there is the Emergency Law, am I using it? The people must speak so that anyone who makes mistakes . . . will be afraid. I support this, but beware of excesses or deviation.

Mubarak's reference to "discipline" and his warning against "excesses" and "deviation" make it clear that the enhanced freedom to criticize is not without limits.

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For its part the press establishment apparently has responded to regime sensitivities by engaging in a degree of self-censorship. The manner of press criticism of the regime, for example, suggests that certain subjects are formally or informally off limits. For example, as the ground swell of criticism of the regime's domestic and foreign policies grew in the opposition press and journalists or their editors directed their ire at members of the government, Mubarak himself remained unscathed.

President Mubarak's sensitivity on the subject of press attention to himself and his family was suggested in an interview given to the Israeli daily *Yedi'ot Aharonot*, published on 5 February 1982. According to the paper, the president "dressed down" the editor in chief of *Al-Jumhuriyah* for reporting that Mubarak's wife was pursuing a graduate degree, declaring: "I don't want to see anything personal about my family—not about my wife, my children, or me."

With a few exceptions, there is little public evidence that the regime has availed itself of the tools of direct control—official censorship, closure or confiscation of newspapers, suppression of individual journalists, or denial of newsprint. At the same time, the government makes its views known through regular briefings of editors and has shown that it is willing to intervene in some circumstances.

A willingness to act—as well as some possible constraints on the government—was demonstrated by the confiscation of one issue of the opposition paper *Al-Wafd*, as reported by MENA on 12 April. MENA said that the paper, organ of the New Wafd Party, had reported on the theft of documents from the Egyptian State Security Court in violation of a ban by the attorney general on publication of details of the case. The public prosecutor ordered the offending issue of the paper confiscated, according to MENA, but it was subsequently released by another court.

With regard to Israel, the government so far has demonstrated that it is willing to act directly only to control the more extreme forms of tendentious commentary. A high-level Egyptian official recently told the U.S. Embassy in Cairo that "we have been in touch with our writers and editorialists" with an eye toward halting anti-Semitic material and that "this sort of thing has been stopped." While the Egyptian press remains highly critical of Israel, a review of publications that have been the source of the most abusive material—*Al-Jumhuriyah*, *Al-Ahram Al-Iqtisadi*, and *An-Nur*—for the past several weeks turned up no instances of anti-Semitic rhetoric. In particular, no such material has been evident in Muhammad al-Hayawan's writings in *Al-Jumhuriyah*.

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Nevertheless, the pervasively critical tone of press commentary on Israel strongly suggests that the criticism is rooted in widespread popular dissatisfaction with Israel, its policies, and the state of the bilateral relationship. The Mubarak regime's reluctance to control all but the most abusive material suggests that it has taken the popular mood into account, weighed the political costs of overriding its commitment to press freedom, and found that there is insufficient incentive to do so. The regime's behavior suggests further that criticism of Israel—at times strident or gratuitous—is likely to persist.

Appendix: Selected Quotations From the Egyptian Press

The Mainstream Press

Al-Ahram

Ahmad Bahjat, daily commentator

30 September

Israeli policy is based on naked power, seizure of land, and changing of facts. . . . The true security of Israel will not be fulfilled unless Israel recognizes the Palestinian people's right to life and existence. Attempts to exterminate this people by means of repeated massacres or permanent exile are nothing but naive and temporary measures. Repression and coercion will not bring security to Israel. They will only bring a response of repression and coercion, or enmity and resistance.

15 November

The wandering Jew has surrendered his place to the homeless Palestinian, and just as the Nazi regime dealt with the Jews in Europe during World War II, the Israeli regime is dealing with the Palestinians.

18 December

[Commenting on former Prime Minister Begin's "sacrifices for the sake of Israel":] The man made sacrifices . . . massacring all the Palestinians who stood in his way, starting with the Dayr Yasin massacre and ending with the Sabra and Shatila massacres in Lebanon—a heavy, bloody history which oceans will not suffice to wash away. If it was the Lord of the Muslims and Christians . . . who was going to call Begin to account, Begin would be lost, and he would have a right to feel down But if it is the Lord of soldiers, the Lord of Israel, embodied in the people of Israel, who will call him to account, he is safe. Because this parochial God will never call an Israeli to account . . . for killing non-Israelis.

Anis Mansur, daily commentator**12 November**

An Israeli writer came to me in a state of rage, and said that Egyptian newspapers were vilifying Israel night and day, focusing on personalities more than on issues. . . . I told him that everyone was not happy about peace with Israel. In Israel, many people oppose the peace with Egypt and think that as-Sadat mocked them. He said: But you don't find in Israeli newspapers anyone calling Egypt the Egyptian enemy, whereas some writers in Egypt talk about the Israeli enemy.

I opened a folder in front of me and read to him titles of articles and names of journalists attacking Egypt in insolent terms. No official in Egypt ever referred to this, however. If Egyptian writers followed what Israeli newspapers published in Hebrew, their position would have been even more severe and forceful. But few of us know the Hebrew language.

He responded: Newspapers in Israel are independent.

My reply was: We are free in our depiction of this relationship between two countries. What is and was between us is not easy to erase in a year, or even 10 years. Furthermore, after [signing] the peace treaty with Egypt, Israel carried out savage actions against the Palestinian and Lebanese people. How can any Arab writer forget them? Burying the dead does not mean that they are forgotten. The drying of tears and blood does not mean that our grief has dried up. It has been 50 years, and you do not forget what Hitler did to you, nor what all peoples have done to you over hundreds of years.

29 December

It is true that we signed a peace [treaty] with Israel. This is one of Egypt's biggest policy successes since its military success in the October War. But the distance between Cairo and Riyadh, Cairo and Aden, Cairo and Rabat, and Cairo and Mogadishu is shorter than the distance between Cairo and Tel Aviv—today and tomorrow. That which is between Egypt and the Arabs is the entire past—with its woes and experiences, even if the blessings were greater. That which is between Egypt and Israel is the

sorrowful past and a frail hope which we wish to see strengthened and deepened. No one in Israel wants destruction, and no one in the Arab world does, either.

Muhammad 'Abd al-Mun'im, commentator

5 September

[Commenting on Begin's resignation which the author asserted was due to mounting domestic criticism over Israeli casualties in Lebanon:] What human hypocrisy, this Jewish and Zionist hypocrisy which took no notice of a day when scores were killed in the King David Hotel, hundreds slaughtered in Dayr Yasin, and thousands of Arabs martyred in June 1967.

Salah Muntasir, managing editor

26 October

Who began to use American weapons to kill Arab peoples? . . . Wasn't it Israel? . . . Who distorted America's image in the region? . . . Wasn't it Israel? . . . Who threatens peace in the region—the peace and stability that America is concerned with achieving? Isn't it Israel?

Mustafa Mahmud, author

31 October

Zionism succeeded in sowing hatred of Islam in people's hearts, by means of lying books, publications, and propaganda, and Europe was deceived, just as the Jews deceived it before, pulling it into the Crusades of the past and driving [Europe], bristling with arms, to Jerusalem. . . .

Haven't we seen Israel supporting Iran with weapons . . . so that Arab wealth, capabilities, and oil would be exhausted? Don't we see them behind the fragmentation of Lebanon into ministates for the Shi'ites, Druze, and Maronites? Don't we see them plotting to fragment Egypt into an Islamic minstate and a Coptic minstate? Israel knows that it will

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never be able to live in the Arab body unless this body is sick with exhaustion and fragmentation, bereft of resistance and awareness, and that there will be no life for Israel if this body recovers its health.

Zionism has in its hands the keys to the coffers of dollars, pounds sterling, francs, and marks. They have in their hands publishing houses, the media, fashion houses, and motion picture studios. They are the best able to manufacture crises, provoke wars, spread dissension, and mislead the youth The commandments of the Talmud . . . order them to do this, to take from the entire world their riding animals and their mounts. They are the chosen people who are destined to rule the whole world. They plot; this has been their habit throughout history, and they are still plotting, deceiving night and day with no letup. Will the world wake up, regain consciousness, and recognize the trap?

Ibrahim Nafi', chief editor

9 December

[Commenting on U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation:] Egypt once again underscores the gravity of this agreement with regard to peace plans in the area and to Arab national security, all of which prompts it to call for a military balance between Egypt and Israel in order to deter any potential rash Israeli behavior and any potential aggression against it. Egypt demands this in order to protect itself—not in order to commit aggression against anybody. This history of the area shows who adopts the policy of aggression and expansion and who adopts the policy of self-defense and advocacy of peace.

Mursi 'Atallah, commentator

19 December

The partition decision did not achieve the dreams and aspirations of the Zionist movement, which actually began to implement its plan to swallow up the whole of Palestine by means of ugly terrorist operations like those carried out by the Haganah and Stern gangs and others in Dayr Yasin and Kfar Qasim, which took the form of wholesale massacres that aimed at spreading alarm . . . and forcing the Palestinians to face two choices,

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not three: either to remain under the threat of death or to depart and empty the land of its Arab inhabitants. . . .

This permanent strategic line of the Zionist movement, which has existed since the era before the establishment of the state of Israel, which relied on military, political, and psychological intimidation as a means to achieve the goal of permanent expansion, is what explains to anyone wondering about the continuation of this behavior in spite of the signing of the peace agreements.

Al-Akhbar and Akhbar Al-Yawm

Ibrahim Sa'dah, chief editor, *Akhbar Al-Yawm*

1 October

There is a feverish campaign against Egypt because Egypt withdrew the Egyptian ambassador from Tel Aviv and refused to return him until after the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, an action which came in response to the ugly massacres perpetrated by the Israelis against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. These interlopers [who have launched the campaign] forget that the decision to withdraw the Egyptian ambassador from Tel Aviv was the simplest response to the ugly Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and was an expression of the will of the entire Egyptian people. The Egyptian people do not accept their representative remaining in a state that employs the ugliest types of tyranny, repression, and torture against a fraternal Arab people. . . . Egypt's position will not change, even if the interlopers don't like it.

Jalal 'Arif, commentator, *Akhbar Al-Yawm*

8 October

[Responding to Israeli allegations that Egypt violated the peace treaty:] [Such statements] give the impression that it was Egypt that marched its armies to occupy Lebanon and to massacre the Palestinians there, or that it is the one defying the whole world by pursuing a policy of building settlements in the occupied territories and paving the way to annexing the West Bank and Gaza. . . . Weakness invites aggression and [the Arab

nation must] start immediately to overcome its weakness, build its strength, rebuild Egypt and provide it with the means of strength in order to lead the Arab struggle to restore Arab rights and liberate all the usurped Arab lands.

Ahmad Zayn, managing editor, *Al-Akhbar*

14 October

In recent years Israel has clearly demonstrated that it is a country that employs force against weaker nations in order to impose its will. Undoubtedly, the Lebanon massacres and other infamies perpetrated by Israel in recent years are responsible for the shift in world opinion away from support for Israel. . . . Observers don't expect intransigence in Israel to be less than it was in Begin's era.

Editorial, *Al-Akhbar*

16 November

[Commenting on Israel's attempt to dissuade West Germany from selling weapons to Saudi Arabia:] We do not know by what right Shamir can . . . meddle in the internal affairs of nations. . . . If Shamir figured that he had the right to gain the upper hand over other countries by force . . . this was self-delusion. . . . We figured that Shamir's senses would return to him and that he would understand matters in their true context after he was chosen to be prime minister; unfortunately, however, he will not take advantage of this new situation

Al-Jumhuriyah

Muhammad al-Hayawan, commentator

30 October

The Arabs do not stop talking about peace. Israel, however, always rejected peace and refuses to define its borders. When they proposed peace to 'Abd an-Nasir after 1967 he asked for a map of Israel, so that he could learn what Israel wanted. Israel stopped the discussion. . . .

Israel always rejects peace. It convinces the world, however, that the Arabs are monsters who want to destroy Israel—the doves of peace. . . .

Israel profits from our irresponsibility, and it plots to occupy half of the Arab world and massacre the other half.

5 November

Israel is angry with freedom of the press in Egypt. Any word of truth spoken in the Egyptian papers upsets Israel. It bothers Israel that there is freedom in Egypt. . . . The Israeli Government allows itself everything. Its prime minister refused to agree to Camp David. Members of the Knesset tore up the treaty. The government embraces a party that demands abrogation of the treaty and annexation of the occupied lands. Israel, however, does not permit any Egyptian opposition to speedy normalization with Israel. . . .

Anyone who follows Israeli broadcasts hears unveiled propaganda against any honest word in Egypt. Israel wants Egypt's pulse to stop so that it can gain mastery over the body without resistance.

11 November

A Palestinian leader said: We will forgive Mr. Begin if Mr. Begin forgives Hitler for what Hitler did to him. But Hitler did not do to the Jews what Begin did to the Arabs. Begin outdid himself and Hitler in exterminating the Palestinian people.

Israel benefited from what Hitler did, or from what he is alleged to have done. Israel is still making the conscience of the world tremble over what Hitler did 50 years ago. The Arabs, however, do not excel at the art of propaganda, information, and publicity. They have not presented the world with a true picture of the massacres of Sabra and Shatila, Dayr Yasin, and so forth. . . .

The reality is that Israeli terrorism will never stop, because the foundation of the state in Israel is based—as Moshe Dayan said—on terrorism against the Arabs. . . . The Arabs know this, but they do not benefit from

it. Someone asked an Arab: When will the Arabs recognize Israel? He replied: When America recognizes the Mafia gangs. Israel is still acting like a gang throughout the Middle East.

20 November

The Jews of Egypt did not go to Israel. Even those who went as an experiment were not able to stay there long. All of them went to America, to New York. Consequently, you hear a lot of Egyptian Arabic in New York. Many Arabs fall into the trap. Because of their longing for Arabs and the Arabic language, they always stop to listen, respond, and discuss. By means of this . . . the Jew is able to play his game on the Arab.

A warning to whoever is going to New York: Beware of those who speak Arabic through their noses. They are Jews. They harbor feelings of hatred for Arabs, they want to suck up all of the Arabs' information and money!! . . .

The Jews in New York are a network. Everything that travels the street is detected by one of them . . . It seems that the whole city is [full of] Egyptian Jews. They are everywhere, earnestly talking to any Egyptian, to try to get close to him, to reach his mind or his pocket. New York is a barbaric city without compassion or heart. . . But the most evil thing in New York is its Jews, particularly the Jews of Egypt. . .

30 December

They arrest Egyptians in Israel. They torture the Egyptian in their jails to death, or until he prefers to commit suicide to escape the torture. . . They are threatening members of our embassy there. Threats by telephone and vandalizing of cars. All international laws protect the diplomat. But in Israel, there is no protection for anyone, because Israel still deals with people as if it were a gang. . . They treat Arabs on the West Bank and in Gaza in an ugly and inhumane manner. Those who are under the delusion that Israel is humane are dreaming the impossible and holding on to a great illusion. Israel always tries to say that Egyptians want to go to Israel, but that some parties prevent them. The truth of the matter has come out. Those who go there will be killed, arrested, tortured, or will escape from this through suicide.

Ibrahim al-Wardani, commentator

12 December

My Israeli friend . . . scolded me about my column . . . of last Tuesday, the one in which I began with the observation that our brothers in humanity, the Jews, always and in general—from the beginning of history—have been the motivating factors which drove mankind into wars. . . .

[He said] that it was regrettable that the media and pens of Egyptian writers had resumed attempts to destroy the friendship and good neighborliness that has been achieved between Egypt and Israel. [Al-Wardani replied]: My dear friend, I swear to you that the Egyptian media and the pens of Egyptian writers are trying . . . to suppress the boiling and calm the anger of Egyptian public opinion toward you.

'Abd al-Mun'im as-Sawi, commentator

6 November

The acts of terrorism carried out by international Zionist gangs are enough to submerge the Wailing Wall in a sea of sorrow and tears!

Despite all these terrorist acts, Israel was established, and 15 May—a day of ignominy—was the day when it was announced that the state of Israel was established on a portion of the land of Palestine

The whole world lies in wait to convict the Palestinians if they so much as carry out one terrorist crime, which might have been an individual act and not planned by the Palestine Liberation Organization

With the Palestinian people, slaughterhouses are permissible: In Sabra and Shatila, in Hebron, Gaza, in any place into which Israel forces itself!

The Opposition Press

Al-Ahali

Salah 'Abd al-Majid, commentator

5 October

[Commenting on the inclusion of representatives from the United States and Israel in a peace conference in Cairo:] It is of course also strange that Israel's representative spoke at this conference about peace, while his hands are stained with the blood of Arab brothers. . . . Gentlemen of Egypt, both governors and governed, do you still believe in this American-Zionist peace?

21 December

The promise which their God Yahweh gave to them is written on the walls of the Knesset: "May Israel's land and descendants extend from the Nile to the Euphrates." Their religious books are full of stories of the Jews' mistreatment of non-Jewish communities, killing men and children and burning homes and cities. Have they refrained from this in the modern era? They have remained themselves at all times from the beginning of their history to the present. It would be impossible to enumerate all that they have done to the Arabs from the establishment of their state until today, as the list is so lengthy and would take a long time to recite.

Muhammad Sayyid Ahmad, commentator

26 October

[Commenting on the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor:] We ask: What if it had been an Arab state that attacked Israel to bomb its nuclear reactor at Dimona, which is known to have produced at least ten atom bombs? Would the United States adopt a position of sympathy and understanding toward this Arab country?

14 December

Even if the political forces in Egypt agree to boycott the Israelis and to repudiate the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, it will not be because of an attitude toward the Jews or because of a kind of racism. It will rather be due to the aggressive expansionist positions of Israel, its own violations of the principles of peace, and its own persistence in racist attitudes and in plans for settlement and annexation.

Faridah an-Naqqash, commentator

23 November

[Hitler] committed crimes against human rights and the German people which can be compared only to the crimes of Zionism in our time. . . . This tendency . . . asserts the superiority of one race over another, and therefore the preferential treatment of this race at the expense of other peoples and nations, exactly as Israel advocates

Statement by the National Committee to Aid the Peoples of Lebanon and Palestine

23 November

[Urging Palestinian factions to resolve their differences:] The Arab and Palestinian blood that has been let has benefited only the Zionist and imperialist enemy, the enemy of the Arab community and the Palestinian people.

NPUG Statement

28 December

Egyptian national security is exposed to a direct and immediate threat as a result of the implementation of the U.S.-Israeli special strategic agreement. There are numerous indications of the dissatisfaction of Israeli officials with President Husni Mubarak's position, and especially with the recall of the Egyptian ambassador from Tel Aviv, the breakdown

of autonomy talks, resistance to normalization, and a return to recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. What makes this Israeli threat to Egypt's national security so serious is that those who opposed the Camp David accords and rejected Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai are those now in power in Israel

The Israeli threat to Egypt's national security extends to the entire Arab nation and is thus a threat to Arab national security. This threat does not except any Arab state from inevitable submission to U.S.-Israeli hegemony, acceptance of a new order, and execution of its role in the new strategic framework which the U.S.-Israeli alliance will put into effect.

Ash-Sha'b

Unattributed commentary on first anniversary of Sabra and Shatila massacres

13 September

Our Arab position on the massacres of Sabra and Shatila is well known, but here we are putting forth world public opinion, which was horrified by the evidence of the massacres and condemned them in the press, news agencies, and in international circles. The Israeli commission of inquiry could not conceal Israel's crime from the world, and liars in the Israeli leadership—politicians and military personnel—could not stick to their stories in the face of the facts and secrets of the massacres, which were soon confessed by its planners, one after the other.

'Adil Mustafa, commentator

8 November

[On conspiracy of the American University in Cairo and Israel to obtain records from ancient Egyptian synagogues:] The Israeli Academic Center was strangely raucous in demanding the right to obtain these documents and manuscripts, as though they were written by Israelis rather than by Egyptian Jews. . . .

The American University in Cairo decided to send 25 of its "Egyptian" students to the United States to study Hebrew and Jewish studies, with

the aim of making them into a sort of new ring which will be led by the various Egyptian organizations that deal with all that relates to Israel.

Unattributed report on speech by former Prime Minister Ibrahim Shukri on anniversary of the Balfour Declaration

8 November

Then he said that Camp David is a new Balfour Declaration, because the guarantees which Britain gave to the Jews in 1917 are the same which as-Sadat gave in the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, such as guaranteeing Israel's borders at a time when Israel still occupies other Arab territories such as the Golan, the West Bank, and Gaza

Recommendations of the Second General Conference of the Socialist Labor Party

27 December

- Breaking diplomatic relations with Israel if it does not withdraw from Lebanon immediately: Israel's continuing occupation of parts of Lebanese territory, its insistence on continuing to build settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip of occupied Palestine, and its obstruction of the return of Taba in the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt do not merit only the Egyptian ambassador's withdrawal from Israel but on the contrary require cutting off all diplomatic relations, especially as members of the Egyptian mission in Israel have been subject to continuing threats.
- Freezing the Camp David agreement due to repeated abuses of it by Israel: Israel's repeated abuses of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty began with bombing the Iraqi nuclear reactor, annexing the Golan, pronouncing Jerusalem as Israel's indivisible capital, conducting the autonomy talks toward a dead end, completing the invasion of Lebanon, directing the massacres of Sabra and Shatila, continuing to build settlements in the territory of occupied Palestine, and threatening the exit by sea of Yasir 'Arafat and his followers from Tripoli, all of which call for freezing the treaty until the requirements of both parties have been accepted.

Al-Ahram Al-Iqtisadi

Nazirah al-Afandi, weekly commentator writing in "The Occupied Land" section

24 October

"The Jew" has gone too far in practicing his role in "The Merchant of Venice." The plan behind his dreams is regional expansionism, and his materialistic aspirations in getting more money.

28 November

[Commenting on the roots of Israel's economic crisis:] The crisis is artificial and indigenous, a native problem tied to Israeli expansionist policy, which is based on military occupation, establishing a fait accompli, and construction of settlements, practices which go back decades.

Unattributed report in "The Occupied Land" section entitled "Jews!!"

7 November

Contacts are currently taking place between the Israeli Ministry of the Interior and the appropriate authorities on the subject of Egypt's debt to the township of Rafah. The debt, which Egypt incurred for water consumed in Rafah during the period between 2 April and the end of August 1982, amounts to \$27,765.

Al-Ahrar

Unattributed report

13 September

Avraham Ahitov, former head of Israeli counterintelligence, has accused the Begin government and the governments that preceded it of encouraging the rise of terrorist organizations operating against the Palestinians. . . . Ari'el Sharon denied the charges and described them as part of a

campaign that the opposition is waging against the government. It is known that the former head of counterintelligence was a member of the opposition Labor Party.

Letter to the Editor: "Jerusalem Is Not the Capital of Israel"

24 October

The three national newspapers published a news item from Israel last Friday. *Al-Ahram* said: "Jerusalem—news agencies," *Al-Akhbar* said: "Tel Aviv—news agencies," and as for *Al-Jumhuriyah*, it didn't call it anything. Has *Al-Ahram* recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, by not calling it "Occupied Jerusalem" as it used to? Publishing a dateline in this manner contradicts statements by the political leadership regarding the non-recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital! [Signed] Faruq Riyadh

An-Nur

Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il, conservative Muslim scholar

19 October

Here the catastrophe of Camp David presents itself. [Al-Azhar Rector] Shaykh Jad al-Haqq points to the return of the Sinai but does not indicate its price. Do we know what its price was?

Its price was Egypt's agreement to give up the eastern bank of the canal except for one piece on the edge whose length is 175 kilometers and whose width is 50 kilometers.

Its price is that Israel won't allow Egypt to place military airfields in the Sinai. It may place civilian airfields there with the condition that Israel is allowed to use them.

Its price was that the waters of the Gulf of 'Aqaba were internationalized, although in reality they are too limited even for regional use.

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Its price is that a Zionist may enter Egypt whenever he likes, whereas a Palestinian may only enter his homeland with the Zionists' approval, which is out of the question.

Its price was that the former border between Egypt and Palestine has become the border between Egypt and the state of Israel—allegedly!

Its price is that the agreement has priority over all other aspects of the conflict, so that it has more weight than our relations with other Arabs and Muslims.

Its price is the normalization of relations with the people most antagonistic to Believers, the Jews. And there are many other costs that space does not permit us to mention. . . .

You say in your decision, defending Camp David: "The Holy Koran stated that political relations among all peoples should be based on peace. What peace do you mean, Shaykh of al-Azhar? The peace of Dayr Yasin? The peace of Sabra and Shatila? The peace of 1967? The Camp David peace to which as-Sadat submitted in humiliation, and from which Begin abstained in arrogance and conceit? . . . The peace of the eviction of the Palestinian people?

2 November

[In defense of holy war against Israel:] If, in your faith, you have dedicated yourself and your means to God, now is the time for sacrifice. Fulfill your pledge to God and he will fulfill his to you. Let the world witness your anger and your defense of what is right, and let this anger be directed toward your enemies and the enemies of right, not toward those whom it is your duty to protect. . . . Holy war, holy war, holy war; God is with you.

Statement by Shaykh Muhammad Nasir al-'Abudi, secretary general of the Muslim World League

21 September

[On actions taken by Israel against Palestinian students in Galilee:] After this, there can remain no doubt among the observant of this world about

the evil intentions of the Zionists, who since they confiscated our Arab Muslim lands have worked to drive out the Palestinians in order to empty Palestine and its environs. This is so that the land will belong exclusively to the Jews, in order to realize the dream for which they have long labored, which is control over Muslim lands and thus rule over the fate of the Islamic world.

Ahmad 'Abdallah, commentator

19 October

Naturally Zionism aims at the elimination of the Arab world for its own purposes. Many of its activities are directed at Jews wandering in the various Arab regions, seeking to destroy their affiliation with these regions, so that in time they will either emigrate to Israel or become supporters of it.

26 October

Freemasonry has achieved its most extensive objectives through clever and careful planning and has succeeded in turning attention to its goals. Secondly we state that it has succeeded in removing enmity toward the Jews from the hearts of millions even in Egypt, and has not only replaced it with familiarity and harmony, but has created a kind of conflict among the Arab Islamic forces which were duped by its flattery

Mu'min al-Haba', commentator

16 November

American and Israeli Zionist extremists are determined to destroy the al-Aqsa mosque and the Dome of the Rock in occupied Jerusalem, intending to replace them with a Jewish temple. High-level officials in Israel and America have become involved in sanctioning the Zionist plans, despite their superficial objections. For us Muslims, who remain oblivious in sleep, there is nothing left but to sense the danger advancing from outside our borders, which is called by many different names but always agrees on one clear objective: the attempt to annihilate anything related to Islam or Muslims.

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